

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SP-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 L-02

NSC-05 PM-03 /047 R

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S/P-WLORD

EUR-JGLOWENSTEIN

S/S:WHLUERS

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P 142231Z MAR 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 058094

E.O. 11652: GDS

GW, US UK, FR

TAGS:PFOR, WB GW, US UK, FR

SUBJECT: BONN GROUP CONSULTATION

1. AS EXPERIENCE IS GAINED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT, WE BELIEVE THAT ONE OF THE CONTINUING CONCERNS OF THE BONN GROUP AND ALLIED CAPITALS SHOULD BE TAILORING WESTERN CONSULTATION TO MEET CHANGING NEEDS IN BERLIN. THIS MESSAGE PROPOSES AN ADJUSTMENT IN THE PROCESS WHICH THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES WOULD HELP MEET SOME OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR CONSULTATION OVER THE COMING YEARS.

2. WITH THE SITUATION IN BERLIN BECOMING INCREASINGLY  
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"NORMAL" IN THE ERA OF DETENTE, ALLIED AND FRG DELIBERATIONS

ON BERLIN SHOULD MOVE FROM THE "CRISIS MANAGEMENT" FOCUS OF YEARS GONE BY. EXPERIENCE WITH THE QA IN THE PAST TWO YEARS HAS MADE CLEAR THAT WHILE "NORMALCY" HAS REMOVED MANY OF THE MOST CRITICAL DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN THE PAST, IT HAS ALSO GIVEN NEW IMPORTANCE TO A NUMBER OF LESS SEVERE BUT IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES.

3- A FURTHER FACTOR IS THE CONTEXT IN WHICH OUR DELIBERATIONS ON BERLIN TAKE PLACE. THE QA REMAINS ABOVE ALL A POLITICAL DOCUMENT, IMPLEMENTATION OF WHICH IS

AFFECTED DIRECTLY BY THE DIVERSE FORCES AT WORK IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE BONN GROUP HAS THEREFORE HAD TO TAKE A BROADER VIEW OF THE BERLIN PROBLEM THAN HAS BEEN NECESSARY IN THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATION AND INITIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENTS CONCERNING BERLIN FROM WHICH WE ARE NOW EMERGING. THE BONN GROUP'S ATTENTION SHOULD BE ON PLANNING AND ANALYSIS, SO AS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE NEW SITUATION MENTIONED ABOVE AND TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK NEEDED BY BOTH EMBASSIES AND CAPITALS TO JUDGE INDIVIDUAL ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THE QA AND INTER-GERMAN ARRANGEMENTS.

4. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, SUCH A CHANGE CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH A GRADUAL REORIENTATION OF BONN GROUP DELIBERATIONS TOWARDS BROADER TREATMENT OF SUBJECTS UNDER CONSIDERATION. EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN, HOWEVER, THAT FORMAL CHANGES IN PROCEDURES WHICH BECOME AN INSTITUTIONALIZED ASPECT OF BONN GROUP ACTIVITIES ARE OFTEN USEFUL IN MOVING THINGS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

5. TOWARDS THIS END, WE BELIEVE AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO RETURN TO THE PRACTICE FOLLOWED IN THE MID-1960'S OF PROVIDING A PERIODIC COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE TOTAL SITUATION AFFECTING THE SECURITY AND VIABILITY OF BERLIN. GIVEN THE KEY ROLE BERLIN CONTINUES TO PLAY IN THE GENERAL CONTEXT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, WE WOULD SEE THIS ANALYSIS AS INCLUDING STATEMENTS ON BERLIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO DETENTE AS WELL AS TO THE STATE OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, THE BERLIN POLICIES OF THE USSR AND THE GDR AND THE ECONOMIC

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AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION IN BERLIN ITSELF. WE BELIEVE THAT CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SOLICITED FROM ALL ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN ESTABLISHMENT WITH INTEREST IN THE PROBLEM, INCLUDING THE SENAT, THE MISSIONS IN WEST BERLIN AND THE EMBASSIES IN EAST BERLIN.

6. WE WOULD SEE THE PROCESS FOR ACHIEVING THE ANALYSIS STRUCTURE AS FOLLOWS:

A. IN PREPARATION FOR THE SEMI-ANNUAL QUADRIpartite DINNER, THE BONN GROUP, WITH SUBMISSIONS FROM OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES, WOULD PREPARE A DRAFT ALONG THE LINES SET FORTH IN PARA 5 ABOVE. THE EMPHASIS WOULD BE ON ANALYSIS RATHER THAN A LISTING OF RECENT EVENTS, AND WOULD CONCLUDE WITH SPECIFIC POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS, IF ANY.

B. THE BONN GROUP DRAFT WOULD BE PRESENTED TO CAPITALS FOR COMMENT, WITH THE GOAL OF REACHING AN AGREED BONN GROUP PAPER.

C. THE PAPER WOULD BE PRESENTED TO MINISTERS AND WOULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AT THE QUADRIpartite DINNER. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, BE PURELY ADVISORY, WOULD NOT BE BINDING ON MINISTERS AND WOULD NOT RECEIVE THEIR FORMAL APPROVAL.

D. IN THE INTERVENING MONTHS, THE PAPER WOULD BE USED AS THE BASIC ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DECISIONS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. CHANGES COULD OF COURSE BE INTRODUCED AT ANY TIME.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: AMBASSADOR SHOULD MAKE INITIAL PRESENTATION OF OUR PROPOSALS TO BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS; WE WANT TO BE ASSURED OF ALLIED SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA BEFORE INTRODUCING IT IN THE BONN GROUP. OUR INTENTION IS TO COMMENCE THE PROCESS IN TIME TO PRESENT THE FIRST PAPER AT THIS SPRING'S QUADRIpartite DINNER. IN ADDITION TO THE ARGUMENTS PRESENTED IN PARAS.1-3 ABOVE, CONFIDENTIAL

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EMBASSY SHOULD POINT OUT THE FOLLOWING ADVANTAGES WE SEE IN SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT:

A. IT WOULD AID IN FOCUSsing BONN GROUP DISCUSSION ON POTENTIAL TROUBLE SPOTS IN BERLIN AT AN EARLY STAGE, BEFORE THEY HAD DEVELOPED INTO ISSUES REQUIRING REMEDIAL ACTION.

B. IT WOULD GIVE THE ALLIES A BETTER INSIGHT INTO THE GENESIS OF FRG POLICIES IN BERLIN, AND WOULD PRESENT A CONTINUING MECHANISM FOR EXPRESSING OUR BROADER IDEAS ON WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IN THE CITY. WE ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN GETTING AWAY FROM THE PRESENT SITUATION OF BEING ASKED TO ACT ON FRG REQUESTS WITHOUT ANY

INDICATION OF THE THINKING WHICH LIES BEHIND  
THEM.

C. IT WOULD PROVIDE A MEANS OF SHIFTING FRG  
ATTENTION FROM THE CONTENTIOUS ASPECTS OF THE  
BERLIN SITUATION, WHICH WE BELIEVE HAVE  
RECEIVED TOO MUCH EMPHASIS IN RECENT MONTHS.

D. IT WOULD AID IN FOCUSING DISCUSSION AT  
THE QUADRIPARTITE DINNER, WHERE AGENDA TOPICS  
HAVE BEEN RATHER VAGUE IN THE PAST YEAR. INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, MEETINGS, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ElyME  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE058094  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** JKORNBLUM  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750348/aaaabrbu.tel  
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**Office:** ORIGIN SP  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ElyME  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 OCT 2003 by ElyME>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BONN GROUP CONSULTATION  
**TAGS:** PFOR, WB, GE, US, UK, FR  
**To:** BONN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006